

must have maximum flexibility. Public welfare programs must be designed to allow states to respond to rapidly changing environments. The reason we are struggling with AFDC today is that the prescriptive statute has not kept pace with changes in public attitudes, economics, social conditions, etc.

Once again, we appreciate the opportunity to provide input. Thanks for all that you are doing on this important issue.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CALVERT). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members are recognized for 5 minutes each.

TERM LIMITS DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GUTIERREZ] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GUTIERREZ. Mr. Speaker, assuming, for argument's sake, that term limits really will have the beneficial effect on the Congress that their proponents claim, why should we pass a term limits amendment that does not apply with full force to current members?

Do current members possess some special virtue which immunizes them from the hazards of extended incumbency? My good friend Rep. MCCOLLUM has said that "those of us who believe in term limits *** need to stay longer" to make sure that a term limits amendment is passed.

Do I sense a contradiction here? By the same reasoning, we should encourage the alcoholic to continue drinking, so that he will be able to keep his goal of quitting one day.

But the McCollum resolution doesn't just buy the alcoholic a drink; it gives him an open tab at the bar.

Were the McCollum resolution to be ratified by the states and become part of the constitution immediately following next year's elections, Mr. MCCOLLUM himself would still be eligible to serve in the Congress until 2008. By the time he retired, he would have been in Congress for 28 years.

Twenty-eight years.

Of course, the states can take up to seven years to ratify the term limits amendment. If the states do so, then Mr. MCCOLLUM—who has already served for 14 years—will have 19 more years to talk about our need for "citizen legislators" while he waits for his term limit to take effect. Under this scenario, when Mr. MCCOLLUM's term limits amendment finally forces him out of this body, he will have served for 33 years.

It's a tough situation for Rep. MCCOLLUM. As he himself has noted, "The worst thing that anybody could do who supports term limits as a sitting member of Congress is to step aside right now." (Press Conference on Term Limits, 5/4/92)

Every once in a while Members of this House are called upon to cast a truly difficult vote, one that affects their own lives directly. Such is the constitutional amendment mandating retroactive term limits, of which I am an original sponsor. Members who have already served six terms when the amendment passes will be ineligible to run again. This amendment will give Members who really believe in term limits a chance to vote for a term limits amendment with teeth.

But while we're waiting for term limits to pass, there's something else we can do to clean up Congress, to make elections something more than the "mockery" which our Speaker has said they often are, to reduce the overpowering advantages of incumbency in the American political system.

I am talking about campaign finance reform.

I've noticed that the Contract With America is completely silent on the issue of campaign finance reform.

Yet the rhetoric about term limits grows louder by the day. Whether you are on this floor, in your car listening to the radio, or at home watching your television, it's everywhere these days.

Yes, it's true, we have too many Members of Congress who have been working here so long that they now feel that they are entitled to be Members of Congress.

And we have too many lobbyists, too many "public relations" specialists in this town, and they certainly have a lot more influence over the legislation that is produced by this body than the average working man or woman does.

But this problem does not exist because people are serving in Congress too long; many of our greatest statesmen have had unusually long Congressional careers.

This problem exists because of the way elections are paid for.

To hear them talk, you would think my Republican friends are boldly leading the way into the era of Citizen Legislator, and that term limits are the definitive answer to the problem of the professionalization of politics.

But all the while, my Republican friends are completely ignoring the legislation that will do more than anything else to release the Congress from its bondage to the lobbyists and the special interests—campaign finance reform.

The McCollum term limits resolution is really nothing more than an incumbency protection resolution. This is why more than 30 Members who have already been in Congress for 12 years or more support it so enthusiastically.

Instead of following such an uncertain and indirect path to reform, wouldn't it be much simpler to pass real campaign finance reform, and take away the money and influence that allow people to stay in this body for year after year by drowning their opponents in a sea of money?

Wouldn't it be much simpler to stop talking about phony term limits resolutions and instead do something to se-

riously limit the influence of big money campaign donors on our political system?

But the Contract With America is silent on this issue.

It's time to stop posturing on this issue and do the right thing.

If you are for term limits—really for term limits—support the real thing, support retroactive term limits.

But even more importantly, let's reform the campaign finance laws and restore equity to the electoral process.

Whether you are in your first term or your twentieth, let's try to create a political system in which the citizens rule, and in which the dollar is no longer king.

QUOTABLE QUOTES ON TERM LIMITS

"This is a tool that I think will do for Congress exactly what I did with a pitchfork for my dad's stable."—Dick Arme (first elected, 1984) (Seelye, N.Y. Times, 1/12/95)

"I have served here now in my 13th year. I am not ready to walk away from here until Teddy Kennedy and you guys want to voluntarily walk away. Those of us who believe in term limits and those of us who want to see things change around here need to stay longer, unfortunately, because the system is the way it is, in order to have the influence it takes when you get a few years in here."—Bill McCollum (Testimony before Subcmte. on Civil and Constitutional Rights, 11/18/93)

"If the Republicans can straighten out the House, I think Americans will find their enthusiasm for term limits waning quite a bit."—Dick Arme, after Nov. '94 elections (AP, 12/6/94).

"Term limits are essential for a healthy and open political system."—Dick Arme, one week later (AP, 12/6/94).

"I am for them [term limits] myself, but the retroactive feature is not a fair feature. It's not the way the Florida statute reads."

* I think that's unconstitutional."—Bill McCollum, CNN's *Crossfire*, 11/29/94.

****I think systematically the balance of power in favor of professional politicians as incumbents is so great that in fact it may—in many places it has made a mockery of the process of open elections."—Newt Gingrich (Press Conference on Term Limits, 1/11/95).

SUPPORTERS OF NON-RETROACTIVE TERM LIMITS WHO WOULD BE FORCED TO STEP DOWN UNDER RETROACTIVE 12-YEAR LIMITS

Dornan (1976), Solomon (1978), Roth (1978), Packard (1982), Stump (1976), Crane (1969), Fields (1980), McCollum (1980), Hansen (1980), Bereuter (1978), Gekas (1982), Gunderson (1980), Leach (1976), Saxton (1982), Schaefer (1983), Shaw (1980), Wilson (1972), Goodling (1974), Gingrich (1978).

SUPPORT TERM LIMITS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MCCOLLUM] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I have just heard the gentleman from Illinois say it to everybody out there that, gee, MCCOLLUM must not really believe in term limits because he does not believe in the particular version that the gentleman prefers, with retroactivity in it. I hope every Member on that side of the aisle who wants to support their version will do the same thing I am going to do, and that is make a pledge